101 cultural division of South America with the Guayana Area as its northern
171 part.

None of these cultural areas has any important characteristic that extends all over it with no variation at all, but each can be defined in a general way by certain common cultural elements. Thus the major division, the Amazon Area, includes Indians that live mainly on casave and "pepper-pot," that use tobacco, that use blow-guns and poisoned darts, that poison streams to obtain fish, that build semi-permanent houses and sleep in hammocks, that originally wore no clothing or only simple pubic-coverings, that anciently practiced the couvade, that have a purely shamanistic, animistic, and not priestly or theistic religious system, that make pottery, that travel by canoe, that use maraka-rattles, that bury the dead in foetal position, — and so on. The Kamarakotos have all these characters, in some of their numerous variations, as will be shown, but so do tribes as far away as southern Brazil, so that such characters belong to the whole Amazon Area.

In the Guayana Area, in addition to these characters or as typical local forms of them, most or all of the Indians raise and spin cotton and make complicated cotton fabrics, squeeze casave in a basketwork press of characteristic range of design, make numerous other fine and typical examples of basketry, smoke tobacco in the form of cigars and do not use coca, live in individual family groups and not in larger community houses and groups, are polygamous, use grave rather than urn burial, etc. It will be shown that the Kamarakotos are also typical Guayana Indians in all these respects.

Within the Guayana Area, the local culture groups are characterized less by these broad traits than by particular variations of them. Thus virtually all make baskets, but certain types of baskets characterize a group of tribes in a nuclear position in southeastern Venezuela and western British Guiana, and within these tribes certain types are Arekuna, as opposed to Makuchi, etc., and within the Arekunas certain ones are Kamarakoto as opposed to Taurepán. These manifold details will mostly be mentioned in the course of the following pages. It is also characteristic that the broader culture areas, like the Amazon Area and its subdivision, the Guayana Area, are in general definable regardless of racial and linguistic affinities. Within any one subarea, local cultures generally follow rather clearly racial and linguistic lines. Thus, Venezuelan Caribs usually have some distinctions, not only physical and linguistic but also cultural, from Venezuelan Arawaks, even when the two are rather closely associated, although of course it is not impossible for a Carib tribe to be "Arawakized" or an Arawak tribe "Caribized." The Kamarakotos are as typically Carib in culture as in language.

101 One other factor in this local subdivision needs special mention in orient-
137 ing the Kamarakotos among the Indians of their region and of South America:
182 that of environment. The most important environmental character in this

101 particular region is that some tribes habitually live in forests while others ha-
137 bitually live in sabanas, grassy plains amid the forests. This distinction may
182 accompany or induce definite cultural differences even between tribes that are
131 closely allied racially and linguistically. The Kamarakotos, like the Taure-
133 panes, are sabana Indians.[1] They live in sabanas in the midst of surrounding
forests, in a series of valley bottoms about 400 to 500 meters in elevation.
They always live near but practically never in the forests and strongly prefer
relatively flat valley bottoms, seldom penetrating into the mountains even
temporarily. Until taken up by white explorers there is no memory or legend
of any of them ever climbing Auyán-tepúi or any of the other real mountains
132 around their valleys. In these valleys frost is, of course, quite unknown and
the days are always warm enough for clothes to be unnecessary for warmth but
are seldom disagreeably hot. The nights are usually chilly and make sleeping
indoors preferable. There is little seasonal variation of temperature, but there
[22] are the usual well-defined rainy and dry seasons of the tropics. As in most of
Venezuela, the rainy season is "winter," when there is little activity in travel,
hunting, or agriculture, and the dry season is the active time.

121 Recently subject, like all the Indians, to growing Venezuelan[2] influence,
178 the Kamarakotos yet retain practically all the pre-Columbian culture of this
[17] area in readily recognizable and relatively unmodified form. This makes them
an almost ideal group for study from this point of view and it also makes their
study of much greater value than might appear from the small size of this one
tribe. As a type study it is a concrete, unified, but broadly characteristic ex-
ample of the sort of culture that once prevailed over most of Venezuela and
that still prevails over an enormous area of that country. Such "civilized,"
"Venezuelan," or "European" influence as does appear in this tribe adds to,
rather than subtracting from, its importance and interest. This influence lends
itself to clear analysis and it also typifies a widespread process and one of the
greatest social and economic importance.

114 Studies of this sort have been relatively so rare in Venezuela that an ob-
server can be sure that almost anything he observes is important and worth pub-
lishing as long as it is accurately reported and intelligently interpreted. There
has, it is true, been a long series of reports on Venezuelan Indians and certain-
ly no depreciation of these studies is intended. Some of the early colonists
and missionaries left very valuable accounts, irreplaceable because of their
first-hand records of things now vanished. It goes without saying, however,
that these were not unprejudiced or skilled observers and that their information
was not gathered in a scientific way or integrated with anthropology in gen-
eral, a science that hardly existed at that time. Other and ethnologically
more accurate and sophisticated travelers, like Humboldt and Schomburgk,
have since added many more and, on the whole, better data of the same sort.
It is necessary to mention only the names of Cordero, Salas, Ernst, Tavera-

1 > 2 [see footnotes on p. 305, category 116 - Analyst]

294 [129] [265] The nearly flat sole is cut from the thick, fibrous, and nearly inflexible leaf base of a moriche palm. On the upper (foot) side, the anterior end is peeled, while the heel part is left with the smooth surface of the cortex. Cords of moriche fiber are used, several cords running together from holes on each side at the front of the heel part (at the instep) and these run behind and above the heel when the sandal is worn. A double cord is attached through three holes (in longitudinal series) at the front part of the sandal so as to run between the first (big) and second toes, then separating and tying to the heel cords above their attachments on each side. Essentially similar sandals are worn by almost all the sabana Indians of this whole area, even into northern Brazil. They are another indication, if any is needed, that the Kamarakotos are decidedly sabana Indians, for sandals are rarely or never used by the forest tribes and are, for instance, unknown in the mainly forested Amazon valley, proper. Even the sabana Indians, including the Kamarakotos, seldom wear them, however, doing so only on relatively long marches in the dry season and taking them off around their homes or on soft or slippery terrane. These sandals are called purai while the recently introduced Venezuelan sandals are called by their Spanish name, "alpargata."

291 171 182 [401] [172] [192]

291 [88] [177] The primitive female costume consists only of an apron just large enough to cover the pubic region and with attached strings by which it is tied around the waist. This apron, the mosa or motsa, is now always a woven fabric with beads. Like the dress it is an adaptation of a foreign material to native use, but it is a far older one and merely uses the material in a purely native pattern. These aprons are very attractive and are made in a great variety of patterns — indeed I have never seen two exactly alike. The favorite colors are white and dark blue and usually the main part of the apron will be solidly one of these, with geometrical borders of the other above and below. There may rarely be an allover pattern or a median band, and colors other than blue or white are sometimes used, but in all that I have seen blue or white predominates.[133] Some of the women always wear the mosa, even though a dress be worn over it. The dress has thus supplemented and not supplanted the older costume and this is an interesting and quite literal example of cultural stratification. [53]

174 114 291 [177] It is commonly believed that all the Carib tribes, which would include the Kamarakotos, went without any clothing, even loincloths and aprons, in pre-Columbian days and that the practice of covering the pubic region arose under European influence. Koch-Grünberg, for instance, states this very positively as regards the loincloth and notes as a decisive argument that even the (Taurepán, not Arekuna in general) name kamisa, is foreign. De Goeje is equally positive as regards the Dutch and French Guiana Caribs and cites Barrere as saying in 1743 that they were completely naked. Roth quotes numerous authorities to this effect regarding British Guiana Indians and apparently inclines to agree with the consensus although he does not give a specific statement of his own

133 [see footnote on p. 322, category 116 - Analyst]